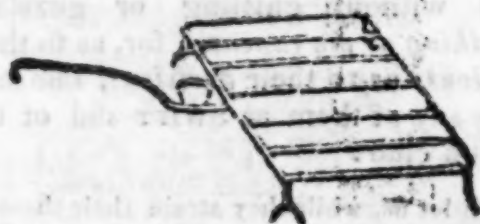


COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 86.—No. 8.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 22ND, 1834.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



TURNING OUT OF THE WHIGS.

UNION

THE KING.

SIR, Dublin, 19. Nov., 1834.

I WAS grateful to your Majesty for your assent to the Reform Bill; but I am much more grateful to you for having driven from your councils and presence, a set of servants who have used their power for the purpose of procuring to be passed a bill which has abrogated the greatest of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and that, too, upon the express allegation, by them made, that the labouring part of your subjects, when brought by misfortune into a state of indigence and want, have *no right to relief* out of the land upon which they were born, and which they alone make worth any thing; and upon the further allegation, that even assistance to the old and infirm was bad and mischievous, when provided for by law.

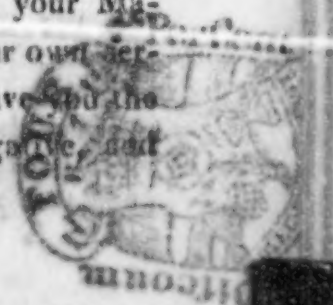
I most humbly and heartily thank your Majesty for having dismissed from your councils a set of servants, who, when the House of Commons had resolved upon the repeal of a part of the

[Printed by W. Cobbett, Johnson's court.]

malt-tax, threatened to quit your service and leave your Majesty without servants, unless that vote were rescinded; a set of servants who sent out the special commissions of 1830 and 1831; a set of servants who have expended twenty millions of money on a project, which has thrown into confusion the most valuable of our foreign donations; a set of servants who have introduced bands of commissioners, and a sort of mongrel government, carried on in detached parcels, by creatures of their own, irresponsible as well to your Majesty as to the Parliament; a set of servants who have commenced making innovations in every thing, giving a shake to every institution of any standing, finishing nothing, tossing all rights and all principles of government into the air, till, at last, no man knows what to expect.

But, may it please your Majesty, it is of the *severities* of this set of servants, that I most complain. It is impossible for an Englishman to look at their deeds in almost every part of the kingdom, without shuddering; it is impossible to behold their conduct with regard to the press; with regard to other things connected with the sufferings of the people: it is impossible to look at these, or to think of these, without being grateful to your Majesty for having put an end to their power. To your Majesty it belongs to choose your own servants. It is our duty to leave you the free exercise of that prerogative, and

I



carefully to abstain from every thing like an attempt to thwart you in your choice. If that choice should unhappily (which we ought not to presume likely) be such as to be hostile to our liberties and happiness, we must rely on our representatives in the House of Commons to protect us against any evil that may be likely to arise from their counsel; and, if we do not choose representatives that will discharge this duty towards us, the fault will be in ourselves, and not in your Majesty. At any rate, the first feeling of your people, upon hearing that you have driven from your presence a set of men, amongst whom he, who is technically held to be the keeper of your Majesty's conscience, has openly and loudly declared himself a disciple of the merciless **MALTHUS**, and has inculcated the justice and the necessity of ruling the poorer part of your subjects upon the principles laid down by that barbarous man; at any rate, the first feeling due from us towards your Majesty, upon this occasion, is that of gratitude.

I am,

Your Majesty's faithful subject,
And most obedient humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

CHANGE OF MINISTRY.

I HEAR from London that *pis-aller* **PARKES**, Mr. Commissioner **HILL**, who, in an "incautious moment," uttered something about the honourable member for Tipperary; roaring **RUSHTON**; **WOOD**, emphatically called **JOHN**; **FRANKLAND LEWIS**; penny-a-line **CHADWICK**; **PETER MACCULLOCH**; and all the whole swarin, or swarms, of "commissioners," are in an uproar in that devil-begotten wen. *Pis-aller's* paper, the *Chronicle* of Monday, tells me that the **COMMON COUNCIL** has met, and that *parochial meetings*, in the me-

ropolitan parishes, are about to be held. As to my masters of the Common Council, my greatest concern relative to them is, that I know, that they never meet without guttling or guzzling *something at my expense*; for, as to their *opinions*, as to their *decisions*, one may fairly say of them as **SWIFT** did of the Legion club:

"And, let us, while they strain their throats,
——— with their notes."

Every one will fill up the blank in a proper manner, and it is not worth while to *print words* that are of no use. As to what these fellows may say or do, it is of no sort of consequence. Their conduct, as exposed by Mr. **WILLIAMS**; their shameless conduct, makes their sayings and doings of less consequence to the English nation, than the sayings and doings of any description of people out of doors, assembled upon any occasion, or in any place. Any body acquainted with the downs, in the west of England, knows, that all the rooks of a neighbourhood frequently meet upon a high and clear hill, and sit in council. They draw themselves up in as regular a square as any geometri- cian ever laid down. They station a scout upon each of the neighbouring hills, in order to give notice of danger, if it should be approaching. In this square they *deliberate*. When they have come to a *determination* they call in the scouts, and away they all go in divisions to their several rook-eries. The subject of their deliberations is, how they shall come at the fruit of the labour of others with the least possible trouble, and with the least possible risk to their own carcasses. In this respect they resemble my London masters, who for several years (if they do not do it yet) made me pay church-rates for *two churches*, and let me and the rest of the parishioners have *no church to go to*! As to the deliberations of this crew, *pis-aller PARKES* is quite welcome to all benefit to be therefrom derived. But the *metropolitan parishes* are another thing; and I am not to be made to believe that they who found it absolutely necessary to combine against

the Malthusian crew whom the King has now turned out, will be so inconsistent and unprincipled at to do anything which shall have the appearance of their feeling sorrow for the ousting of that crew.

It is uncertain what the Duke of WELLINGTON may propose; to propose anything worse than the things which the other crew were enforcing is a thing impossible. It was a *pottering, dabbling, patching, pinching, muddling, poking* crew; it was a hypocritical, canting set, *doctrinaires, liberals, a free-trading, centralizing, concentrating, amalgamating, accumulating, emigrating* damnable crew. Most likely we shall be able to *understand* the Duke. It is our fault *then* if we suffer him to beat us out of anything that we ought to have; but with this shuffling crew, who brought us in a bill to pass upon the evidence to be furnished in ten folio volumes of reports, and who pushed us along to pass the bill, and *then* brought us in the reports; with a crew like this, who seemed always to be drenched with laudanum and brandy, and into whose designs we never could penetrate; with this crew, from whom we gathered only this one thing clearly laid down; namely, that they meant to bring the people of England to submit to live upon a COARSER SORT OF FOOD; with a crew like this, it was impossible to proceed; and an end to their power seemed to be absolutely necessary to give the King a chance of restoring peace and contentment to his people.

I beseech my readers not to be amused by *names*. The scoundrels who are endeavouring to overthrow the liberties of America, and establish a villainous aristocracy of money, have taken the name of "WHIGS," have taken the name which was taken by those who made the revolution in that country, and who established its independence. Let us have the sense to scorn the use of the term *Whig* or *Tory*; let us have the sense and the decency to leave it to the King to choose his own servants; let us resolve to support them, if they give us all our rights; and to

oppose them with all our might, if they attempt to withhold from us any one of those rights; and, in the meanwhile, let us enjoy the confusion of the standing army of commissioners, *Pis-aller PARKES, GROTE, HILL, CLAY, WHITMORE, TORRENS*, and all that set, whose business it was to be, to get away the labourers of England, to till the lands in the South Sea. I am sure that all my readers will act a consistent part upon this occasion, and that they will expect a similar part to be acted by me.

The *Morning Chronicle* hints that it is possible that the Duke of WELLINGTON may adopt the "*desperate course*" of joining the Radicals, and of doing some of the things, at least, which they want done. Now, if *pis-a-ler* PARKES deem me a Radical, all that I can say for myself is, that, if the Duke will give us *complete security for the maintenance of the rights of the poor, according to our English laws*; if he will be so "*desperate*" (and, indeed, so *truly wise*) as to do this; if he will be "*desperate*" enough to blast the hopes of the base and nasty Malthusians for ever; if he will repeal the dreadfully mischievous, burdensome, and brutalizing, malt-tax; and, if he will do that which common sense, as well as justice, dictate with regard to Ireland; if he will adopt the measure proposed by Lord ASHLEY with regard to the factories in Yorkshire and Lancashire, he shall, at any rate, have all the little support that I am able to give him, provided he take no step to harden the penal code, or to supplant the operation of the law, and the constituted authorities of the land, by military or Bourbon-police force, and propose no new law to restrict the press, or endanger personal liberty.

We now see the motive for bringing forward Lord DURHAM. This set, that is now turned out, *knew that their days were numbered*. He was cast out as being something *too good* to be in this set, whom the people hated; and he was to be *called in by the people*, in order that he might be a little sort of infallible political Pope, who would have been able to keep the main part of the others in, and so patch up and work

along. The King has defeated the whole project. And, I again, as I did once or twice before, put it to men of sense: What would have been the lot of the people of this kingdom, if there had been neither king nor lords, and if the Whig faction, who had passed the Coercion Bill with redoubt, or of justice in it; who had passed the Poor Law Amendment, or COARSE FOOD, Bill, who had rescinded a vote in favour of a repeal of part of the malt-tax; who had openly avowed themselves the disciples of MALTHUS; who had three hundred men shut up in one year for the selling of cheap publications: who had passed a law, giving the rich the liberty of selling those wild animals, for being in pursuit of which, the same law transported the poor for seven years; who brought in, and who passed, the *Dead Body Bill*: I put it to men of sense, who have only a common feeling of regard for the liberty, happiness, and honour, of their country, to say, "What would have been the lot of the people of this kingdom, if there had been neither king nor lords; and if we had been left wholly at the mercy of this faction?"

WM. COBBETT.

TO MY CONSTITUENTS.

MY FRIENDS,

I REQUEST you to read the above papers; to think well upon the subject; not to be misled by any artful representations; to resolve not to enlist yourselves under the banners of any faction; to consider well what course of conduct is best calculated to restore us all to our rights, liberties, and happiness, as industrious Englishmen; and to resolve to pursue that course.

I have written to Mr. Fielden, and I hope, with him, to have the pleasure of seeing you all, in about a week from this day.

I am,
Your faithful representative,
And most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

No. IX.

TO CHARLES MARSHALL,

LABOURER,

Normandy Tuhing, Parish of Ash,
Farnham, Surrey.

SOCIETY

MARSHALL,

You must needs think that I hear about the FIRES that are going on in England. Indeed I see accounts of them in every newspaper that comes from England. There is no man more sorry than I am, that my country should be in such a state; but I cannot join with those who call the working people of England "*lazy and sturdy miscreants*"; being, besides, quite satisfied, that, to call them by such names, never yet was, and never will be, the way to make them cease to do any thing, in the doing of which they are engaged, however wrong it may be to do that thing.

I will endeavour, MARSHALL, to explain to you, why it is that the farmers are unable to pay the wages that they have been paying for some time past. The greater part of farms are still paying as much *rent* as they were paying when wheat was, on an average, ten shillings a bushel. Besides this, they pay nearly as much in poor-rates: they pay more in county-rates, in church-rates (taking England and Wales all through); in road-rates; in malt-tax (which is heavier than all the other taxes); in sugar, tea, and tobacco tax; and they pay full as much as they ever paid for all articles of clothing; and they pay as much for fuel as they ever paid.

Now, you know, that fat hogs used to be from twelve to fifteen shillings a score; that mutton used to be from four shillings to five and sixpence a stone at SMITHFIELD; that beef used to be from four shillings to six shillings a stone; that butter used to be at GUILDFORD, from fifteen to twenty pence a pound. You know that now fat hogs are about eight shillings a score, I suppose; and you know, that even the

fine wheat, that grow on your little patch, is hardly worth five and sixpence a bushel; and wheat in general, all over the kingdom, I can assure you, is not worth four and sixpence a bushel.

Therefore, MARSHALL, if the farmer have to pay the same rent, and the same taxes, he must be ruined if he pay the same wages that he paid before; and, I am sure that there is none of you who would wish to see Farmer WEST, or FAGGOTTER, or HORNE, or any of the rest of the farmers brought to ruin. They have all families as well as you; and, besides this, if they be brought to ruin, their labourers must either come to ruin and starvation, or there must be an end of all law, and all security even for person. Yet, MARSHALL, the labourer and his family must live; must have meat, bread, beer, clothing, and a bed to lie on, and fuel to warm them; and there is no reason, seeing that their labour is as great as ever, why they should not live as well now as they did before. There is a miscreant who publishes a paper called the *Brighton Gazette*, who says, that the wages of the labourer ought to be lowered, in proportion to the fall in the price of wheat and flour; so that, according to him, a man ought to have six shillings a week, instead of twelve. This, Marshall, is a real miscreant, who, if he could have his will, would set the whole country in a blaze.

Let us see, then, how this matter stands. Suppose a man to have twelve shillings a week. He is no corn dealer, and no bacon merchant; and the question with him is, not the price of wheat; not the price of the whole fat hog; not the price of barley; but the price of the bushel of flour and of the gallon loaf; the price of the three or four pounds of bacon; and the price of the pot of beer. The wheat, the bacon, the barley, have to go through the hands of the corn-dealer, the miller, the baker; the bacon has to go through the hands of the bacon merchant and the shopkeeper; the barley has to go through the hands of the maltster and the tax-gatherer and the brewer and the public-house keeper: through all

these hands they have to pass before they come to the labouring man, every one of them respectively, comes loaded with a share of all the enormous taxes, of every sort, paid by the corn-dealer, the miller, the bacon merchant, the shopkeeper, the maltster, the brewer, and the public-house keeper; and, at last, the low prices which ruin the farmer, produce very little effect in lowering the price of these commodities to the labouring man; and this you all find to be the case.

If this is the case with regard to the mere food, how stands it with regard to other things necessary to the decent existence of yourselves and your families? The sugar, the tea, the tobacco, the rent, the fuel, the soap, the candle light; all these; every article of clothing; all these put together make twice or three times the amount of the mere bread and bacon: as to the drink, that is still as dear as before; for five parts out of six of the price is tax, or monopoly arising out of tax. Put the drink, then, to the rent and these other things, which are all full as dear as they were before; and then see how unjust this BRIGHTON miscreant is, in proposing to lower your wages in proportion to the fall in the price of WHEAT! The single man, too: has he not still as much to pay for his lodging, for his washing, for his clothes, as he had to pay before? Has he not as much to pay for his tobacco, for his soap; and, in short for every thing except a mere trifle on the loaf, and on the pound of bacon? He must lament that the farmer is ruined; but is he to starve because the farmer is ruined? The farmer has been ruined by the arbitrary changes made in the value of the circulating money of England, and by the heavy taxes which the farmer has to pay. But was it the labouring man that caused this arbitrary change in the value of the money? Was it the labouring man that laid on the malt-tax, on account of which the working people of England pay twice as much as the amount of all the parish relief that they receive? Was it the labouring man that laid on taxes, which

make the tea cost three shillings instead of one; which make the sugar cost two shillings instead of one; that make the tobacco cost three shillings instead of threepence? The labouring man did none of these things. He must be sorry to see the farmer ruined: it would be unjust in him to wish that the landlord should receive no rent for his land; but if the farmer lose all his money, and the landlord lose all his rent, the labouring man has not been the cause of it. The law of God and the law of the land, say that he shall not starve, as long as there is food in the country; and, if you will speak to Farmer HORNE, he will show you, that St. PAUL tells TIMOTHY that "the husbandman that *laboureth* must be the *"first partaker of the fruits."*

I do hope that good-will and good neighbourhood will prevail in the west of Surrey, at any rate; that landlords, farmers, labourers, will all have consideration one for another; and that the farmers and landlords will particularly have great consideration *for the single young men*; and that, whenever they possibly can do it, they will take them into their houses, make them part of their families, and bind them to them by the ties of mutual benefit and kindness; and not drive them away from their doors as if they had no right to be upon the land whereon they were born.

Now then, MARSHALL, so much for that; and now I have to talk to you about another matter. You know that there has been a POOR-LAW BILL passed, which, whenever it shall be put into execution, will make a *total change* as to the situation of the working people. It was a SCOTCHMAN of the name of BROUGHAM who proposed this bill to the House of Lords; and he said that such a bill was necessary to prevent the poor from SWALLOWING UP THE LORDS' ESTATES. Now, MARSHALL, it is a command of God, that those who have the ability to do it shall plead the cause of the poor, the widow, the fatherless, and the stranger. I have the ability to do this, as well as to teach you how to rear fields of cabbages; and it is my duty to obey this command, and not

to waste my time in feasting and drinking, and in snoring in bed. After having taken time to consider in what way I can best perform this duty, I have determined to write and publish a LITTLE BOOK, in such form and size that any working man can carry it in his waistcoat pocket, and at the price of FIFTEEN PENCE; so that all the working men may read it, or hear it read. And I shall have it bound in leather, so that it shall not easily be worn out; and that it may be read, not only by the men of the present day, but by their children, and their great-great-grandchildren. I have sent the first part of it to London, and shall send the rest in a few days. If the *landlords* and *farmers* have any sense left, they will be the first to read it, and to CONSIDER IT WELL; and if they do not choose to read it, they may just let it alone. I will here give you the TITLE of it, MARSHALL, and the TABLE OF CONTENTS: and when the book is printed, which will be in the course of a fortnight, some copies of it will be sent down to Mr. DEAN, and I shall request him to send one of the copies and give it to the man who now lives in the house in which I was born. The Title and Contents of this little book are as follows:

COBBETT'S
LEGACY TO LABOURERS;

OR,

What is the Right which the Lords, Baronets, and 'Squires, have to possess the Lands, or to make the Laws?

In Six Letters addressed to the Working People of the whole Kingdom.

WITH A DEDICATION TO
SIR ROBERT PEEL.

BY WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P. FOR OLDHAM.

CONTENTS.

Dedication to Sir ROBERT PEEL; stating the reasons for writing the book, and also the reasons for dedicating it to him.

Letter I. How came some men to have a greater right to parcels of land than any other men have to the same land?

Letter II. What right have English landlords to the lands? How came they in possession of them? Of what nature is their title?

Letter III. Is their right to the land *absolute*?
Is the land their *own*; or, are they
holders under a superior?

Letter IV. Have they *dominion* in their lands?
Or do they lawfully possess only
the *use* of them?

Letter V. Can they do *what they like* with
their lands?

Can they *use* them in any way that
shall clearly tend to the injury of
other men, or to that of the King,
or Commonwealth?

Can they *use* them so as to drive the
natives from them?

Can they *use* them so as to cause the
natives to perish of hunger, or of
cold?

Letter VI. What right have the Lords, Ba-
ronets, Squires, and rich men, to
vote at elections any more than
working men have?

You are not to suppose, MARSHALL,
that I am going to die, because I have
awarded you a legacy. You are to have
it first or last; and the sooner you have
it the better; and if I see it in your
hands in my life-time I shall be sure
that you have got it. Since the vaga-
bonds have dared to assert that the *poor*
have no rights, it is high time to see
what are the *rights of the rich*. When
you get the little book be sure to send
one of them over to the chaps at PUR-
BRIGHT, and tell them to go to the par-
son at CHOBHAM, and ask him what
right he had to libel me; and to tell
him that I will call him to account for
that before this winter is over.

I have nothing more to say to you at
present, only that, if all of you work as
hard as I do; if you be as diligent (as I
hope you are) with the ploughs and the
spades and the dung-prongs and the
bill-hooks as I am with the pen, you
will have the farm in most excellent
condition before I get back. I hope
that all of you and your wives and fami-
lies are well, and

I am,
Your master and friend,
WM. COBBETT.

FIRES IN ENGLAND.

As the liberal and sincere Whigs took
so much pains to *singe* me in 1831;
and as some people think that I had so
narrow an escape, it may surprise the

reader that I venture to pronounce the
word "FIRE" even for the purpose of
getting a servant to light a fire in my
room. However, I am not so easily
frightened. And I shall now take the
liberty to insert from the English news-
papers, copied into DUBLIN newspapers,
some of the details which have reached
me relative to these fires; and when I
have done that I shall insert an article
of a wise London newspaper, relative to
the means of "*checking*" the fires;
and when that is done I shall, in an
address to the King's Ministers, point
out that which I think they ought to
do in this case, as faithful servants of
their royal master, with the peace of
whose kingdom, and the upholding of
whose dignity, they are specially charged;
and to do which, to the utmost of their
power, by the *most solemn of oaths*. . . .
. The details which have reached
are as follow:

"Last week fires occurred in Dorset-
shire, Huntingdon, and Norfolk.

"On Sunday last, two fires broke out
in the farm yards of Mr. Carr and
Mr. Akerman, near Bascott. Much
stock was destroyed. 100*l.* is offered
for the discovery of the *incendiary*.

"On Monday, at eleven o'clock, a
fire broke out at Till-barn, Alfrinton,
in the occupation of Mr. Pagden,
which consumed the barn filled with
oats and barley, three wheat stacks,
a hovel, and a quantity of loose
straw. Two men are in custody.

"A few evenings since, an incendiary
fire broke out at the immense barn
belonging to Mr. Holton, near Strat-
ford-on-Avon, which consumed up-
wards of 1,000*l.* of property before it
was got under. Rewards are offered
for the apprehension of the *miscreants*
who committed the act,

"On Monday se'nnight a haulm-rick
and wood hovel, on the premises of
Mr. Freeman, farmer, were wilfully
set fire to, and two wheat stacks, and
a stack of oats and beans, were de-
stroyed.

"On Monday, at nine o'clock, another
fiendish act of malicious burning took
place at Thoresthorpe, on a farm be-
longing to Mr. Gilbert.

" On Wednesday night, a most alarming fire took place on the premises of Mr. James Smith, at the Hoo, near Frindsbury, Kent. Eight stacks of corn were totally destroyed, with some buildings. There is every reason to believe that this outrage was the working of an *incendiary*.

" It is painful to add, that several farmers in the neighbourhood have received *threatening letters*. A meeting of the association for the protection of property from *incendiarism* took place on Monday at the *Beef Steak House*, at Shorne, at which the Earl of Darnley presided, and the most prompt measures will be resorted to for the purpose of preventing the recurrence of such a calamity.

" A destructive fire took place on the premises of Mr. Holtham, at Cleeve Prior, near Eversham, on Wednesday night, the 29. A man is in custody on suspicion of having wilfully occasioned the conflagration.

" On Wednesday morning last a very awful fire broke out upon a farm occupied by Mr. Fryson, at Old Hurst, Huntingdonshire, three miles from St. Ives. The flames were first discovered issuing from a cow-lodge, and spread with such rapidity, that almost the entire premises and produce of *two extensive farms, with eleven cottages*, were consumed before the devouring element was subdued. There is little doubt but that it was the act of a *diabolical incendiary*. A fire broke out in a stubble stack about half a mile from Grantham during the afternoon of Monday, which was clearly the result of accident; but in an hour after the flames were subdued, some *vile incendiary* fired the stack yard of John Norman, a small farmer, which consumed a bean and barley stack, and nothing but the most strenuous exertions prevented the destruction of four or five other ricks.—On the same evening some *villains* set fire to the stack-yard of Mr. Charles Plowright, farmer, of Whaplode, near Holbeach. From the great scarcity of water on or near the premises, and from the

stacks being fired in various places, no effectual resistance could be made to the devouring element, so that all the contents of the yard were wholly consumed, consisting of wheat, oats, and beans, to the value of about 700*l.*, not one sheaf of which was insured. Several persons were taken into custody, suspected of being guilty of this outrage, and taken to Spalding on Tuesday morning for examination. But the most mysterious part of the catastrophe remains to be told. While Mr. P. was at Spalding on Tuesday, attending the examination of the prisoners, his dwelling-house, which by great exertions had been saved on the previous night, took fire, and was burned to the ground. There is little doubt but that this also was the act of an *incendiary*.—On Sunday evening last, as early as eight o'clock in the evening, a hay-stack and hovel on the farm of Mr. George Houlden, of Saleby, near Alford, were set fire to, and entirely consumed: and on Saturday, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, a fire broke out in several places at once, in the stack-yard of Mr. Isaac Bee, farmer, of Deeping High Bank. No doubt this was effected by some combustible matter which was neither intended nor expected to ignite so soon. All attempts to extinguish the flames were in vain. The whole contents of the yard, with a part of the dwelling-house, were consumed. The damage is about 300*l.*

" As a proof of the effect produced by these *villanous* proceedings, take the following from the *Oxford Journal*: " On Wednesday last, a numerous meeting of the landholders and other respectable inhabitants of the towns and villages of Lechdale, Buscott, Kelmescott, Inglesham, and Eaton Hastings, was held at the New Inn, Lechdale, to take into consideration what steps should be adopted to prevent the alarming destruction of farming property by incendiaries. Several strong resolutions were passed in condemnation of the offence, and subscriptions to the amount of 140*l.*

" immediately collected in the room, to
 " be appropriated in rewards for infor-
 " mation leading to the apprehension
 " and conviction of the offenders. An-
 " other meeting is convening to propose
 " and adopt further measures on the
 " subject; and a letter from the rector
 " of Buscott has been forwarded to the
 " Chief Secretary of State, soliciting
 " the assistance of the Government in
 " the affair."

The following is from the *London Morning Advertiser*. It contains the observations of a person who knows nothing at all of the matter. Inquiries can do no good. The causes are all known; the remedies are as clear as daylight. And they only want to be adopted to put an end to the evil.

" The extent to which the setting of
 " fires has been carried in England has at
 " last excited the uneasiness of the Lon-
 " don press; certainly not before the sub-
 " ject called for attention. There is a great
 " deal of good sense in the following re-
 " marks on the subject in the *Morning*
 " *Advertiser*:—The prevalence of incen-
 " diary fires in many parts of the coun-
 " try, the diabolical spirit they evince,
 " the destruction of property and even
 " life they occasion, and the ease with
 " which they are perpetrated, are cir-
 " cumstances well fitted to excite the
 " most painful feelings. Nevertheless
 " the subject does not appear to have
 " received much of that attention to
 " which it is so well entitled. But it is
 " obvious, whatever be the causes of the
 " mischief, that their virulence has been
 " in no degree abated, and that wilful
 " fire-raising is as prevalent now as it
 " has ever been at any time during these
 " half-dozen years. Under these cir-
 " cumstances it seems to us to be impe-
 " ratively necessary that the whole cir-
 " cumstances and condition of the rural
 " population should be carefully inquired
 " into; not by a set of flying commis-
 " sioners packed for a special purpose,
 " and sent only to hunt for such evi-
 " dence as might pave the way for a
 " measure determined on before they
 " commenced their investigation,

" but by those who will look at
 " it without prejudice under all its as-
 " pects and bearings. The crime of
 " arson may be said to be new in Eng-
 " land, and it would be absurd to sup-
 " pose that it should have grown up to
 " the frightful magnitude it has attain-
 " ed without the operation of powerful
 " causes. These ought to be carefully
 " investigated; and if they can be de-
 " tected, and their influence correctly
 " appreciated, it will be comparatively
 " easy to deal with this gigantic
 " nuisance. But if it be allowed to go
 " on unchecked, if Ministers content
 " themselves with merely offering re-
 " wards for the discovery of incendia-
 " ries, and make no efforts to trace and
 " stop up the sources whence the mis-
 " chief flows, it will be more owing to
 " accident than to any thing else if we
 " escape falling into something like the
 " condition of Ireland. The organiza-
 " tion of a rural police has been talked
 " of; but there are a thousand difficul-
 " ties in the way of such a measure;
 " and though it were established, it
 " would hardly be possible to make it
 " efficient for any practical purpose.
 " But how comes it that a rural police
 " should be more necessary in 1834
 " than in 1824? What is it that has
 " inspired a part of our population with
 " such a malignancy, that to gratify
 " their malice against others, they do
 " not hesitate to destroy the very food
 " they are in want of? A quack never
 " troubles himself about inquiring how
 " the disease originated, but immedi-
 " ately sets to drugging the patient with
 " his pernicious nostrums. But the
 " quackery is quite as bad in politics as
 " in medicine; and we hope in this in-
 " stance, at least, we shall not have to
 " deplore its occurrence; but that
 " while every thing is done in the mean
 " time to discover and punish the
 " perpetrators of such abominable out-
 " rage, an impartial and searching in-
 " quiry will be instituted into the causes
 " whence they originate; and that an
 " attempt will then be made to
 " deal with them on broad and compre-
 " hensive principles."

TO
THE KING'S SERVANTS.

Shangana Castle, 16. Nov., 1834.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

RECOMMENDED to you, in the terrible time of the special commissions of Hampshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire, and Buckinghamshire, the measures which I thought ought to be adopted for effectually doing away with the discontents of the country people of England, and, especially, the *working people*, including, as Mr. Locke most judiciously does, all the various tradesmen employed in conjunction with the husbandman in the producing of a loaf of bread; for, surprising indeed is your mistake, if you imagine that low wages, deprivation of relief, and the hardships arising therefrom, do not appertain to tradesmen, as well as to those that are more immediately engaged in tilling the soil. I recommended to you those measures, so easy of adoption and execution, and so perfectly *costless*, which I was SURE would restore tranquillity and contentment to the millions of Englishmen and Welshmen. Instead of the thanks of you, and of those colleagues who are now out of power, I had to endure the effects of your endeavours to shut me up in jail for the probable remainder of my life, from which end I was preserved by an honest jury; and by that jury alone.

I will now offer you the advice again; and, if you reject it, I, at any rate, shall have done my duty. I have just quoted the remarks and recommendations of a writer in a London paper. He does not understand the subject; but, apparently his wishes are good. This gentleman talks of checking the destructive deeds, which he very properly describes, as far as relates to the deeds in themselves considered; but, when he is loading the perpetrators with hard names, I am sure he does not know the consequence of that, supposing these hard names to reach the eyes of the parties.

His recommendation of instituting an inquiry into the causes by agents sent from you, shows that he is totally igno-

rant of every thing connected with the matter; and shows, that, however good his motives, he is wholly unfit to advise. And, with regard to the associations of farmers and others in the country, they are the mere effect of passion, operating upon irritated minds. It is baffled power: it is power and undisputed domination filled with resentment on seeing itself reduced to a state of impotence. Did you never dream (you are very likely to have such dreams) of having some man standing before you; some unfortunate underling, on whom you wished to pour out a torrent of censorious expressions; and that, somehow or other, you could not speak? I once had such a dream: I thought I had got an opportunity of laying it well on upon old SIDMOUTH; and that I could not utter a single articulate sound of all the expressions (which were not of the mildest sort) which I had prepared for him. Just much about such is the situation of these agricultural chieftains: they would swear like troopers: oh, how they would swear! but they do not know whom to swear at: they would execrate and blaspheme; but they do not know on what object to pour out their execration and their blasphemy: they would cut, flay, shoot, hang, quarter; but they do not know on whom they would exercise these terrible inflictions; while, perhaps, and most likely, the very persons that they employ (for they are compelled to employ some to aid and assist them in their work of detection) are the persons who have perpetrated the deeds; and that nothing short of an extirpation of the people, by whom they are surrounded, and on whose labour they depend, will give them security, without taking the hostile disposition out of the hearts of the people. This was my opinion before, and it is still my opinion.

I will not act the hypocrite, nor will I act the fool; and it would be acting the fool in a manner the most staring to affect to *deplore* the existence of the evil. What would be thought of me, if I were to affect to *deplore* the present confusion in the West India colonies, which confusion I so clearly fore-
saw

and so distinctly foretold, and to prevent which I laboured so earnestly? To affect to deplore these evils is as ridiculous as it would be to deplore that Christmas is so near at hand, unless he who deplores is able to show that he has done every thing in his power to prevent the evil from happening; that he has had some power to exercise in the case, and that the evil has come in despite of his laudable exertions.

Men of sense and sincerity seeing the evil, and knowing, or thinking they know, the causes of it, will propose a remedy, not wring their hands, tear their hair, and sit down and cry; not, as a great privy councillor is said to have done at the time of the panic, violently clasp his hands together, turn up his eyes, till you saw nothing but the whites, and exclaim, "My God! what shall we do!" This is not the way to govern nations; it is not the way to govern the English nation at any rate. "Get up, you lubberly dog!" said JUPITER to the wagoner, "apply your hands to the whip, and your shoulders to the wheel; and do not lie there worrying me with your exclamations!" Pray, my lords and gentlemen, do not think that I recommend the whip to be used by you in this case, nor the racking-wheel by any means; just the contrary, as you will presently learn, if you should be condescending enough to do me the honour of reading this address, which is entitled to your attention, because, long before any fires at all took place, I, being afraid that such would be the end, discharged my duty in suggesting measures of effectual prevention.

Come, come! It is time to get the better of your pride and haughtiness, and of your apparent vow, recorded in heaven, to perish rather than listen to me. It is time to get the better of this prodigious and absurd perverseness; and then let me ask you whether, if I foresaw this terrible result of what my Lord RABNOR, in his evidence before the Poor-law Commissioners, calls the harsh treatment of the labourers; whether, if I clearly foresaw this result, and as clearly foretold it to his tenants, amongst

others, at SALISBURY, in the year 1826; whether, this being the case, it is not your duty to your master to attend to me now?

The writer of the above article, in the *London Morning Advertiser*, truly enough describes, and pathetically laments, the great facility that there is in setting the fires, and the great difficulty of detecting the fire-setters. All which wise observations he might have spared himself the trouble of making, seeing that both these were so fully proved by me long and long enough ago. And I wonder that he was not afraid, seeing that Hampshire IREMONGER suggested to Cockey DENMAN, the "chivalrous" brother who fought together with BAUGHMAN so valiantly in the case of the really unfortunate queen, and who sat the other night at the Lord Mayor's feast in Guildhall, and doubtless displayed his "chivalrous" spirit in "keeping together" with his brother-lord, in enjoying the applause poured out on him by my fellow-citizens, hes and shes, who, it is said in the newspapers, chose upon this occasion to imitate, not the cheering crowing of the cock, but the gratulating sound of the voice of a bird of a much larger size, of a more stately port, and of manners more congenial with the gravity of those civic authorities, by which the brace of noble and "chivalrous" peers were then and there surrounded; seeing that Hampshire IREMONGER, of WERWELL, who is a Colonel I fancy, advised Cockey DENMAN to put this very advice which I gave the Ministers into his indictment, in which he called me WILLIAM COBBETT, Labourer, of St. Dunstan's in the West, though I was a Liveryman of London, a bookseller in the city; had a good house at KENSINGTON, and paid in direct taxes more than a hundred pounds a year; into this bill of indictment IREMONGER, of WERWELL, suggested to this man, who is now a lord, to put the very article containing my advice to you, and your then colleagues, the object of which advice was, to put an end to the fires; and the ground of his suggestion was, that I had put it into the labourers' heads, that

they might set fire to *corn-fields* and *woods*; and by-the-by, Mr. BENNETT, the member for Wiltshire, told my attorney, Mr. FAITHFULL, that *I had put him to the expense of insuring standing corn*! I have been informed, and I believe, that DENMAN declined to put this additional crime into the bill of indictment, but told IREMONGER that it would certainly weigh in *aggravation*, when I should be *brought up for judgment*! With regard to this last fact, I do not speak with any great degree of confidence, not believing DENMAN to be a fool to such a surprising extent; but of the Tory colonel making the application, I have not the smallest doubt. I heard of the thing before the trial; I had BENNETT subpoenaed and in court; I was dying with impatience to hear the thing mentioned by DENMAN, and had PEEL'S new penal code in my hand ready to show that the setting fire to standing corn and woods was there very amply described; and ready was I to pour out upon all the parties every drop of my viol of wrath, of well-mixed-up indignation, ridicule, contempt, and scorn.

However, I wonder that this writer in the London paper was not afraid to say, as I had said upon that occasion, that the act was of so easy commission, and of so difficult detection. But, is it not monstrous in men in power, to be angry with a writer for saying that which is so notorious to all the world; is it not monstrous for being angry at a man's saying, in print, that that is true, the truth of which is proved to us every day of our lives? What I have always contended for is this, that the act cannot be prevented; and that it cannot be punished, because it cannot be detected in one case out of ten; and further, let it be observed, that the punishment, when punishment does take place, has not the effect, in this case, of deterring by terrific example. Whenever the chances are ten to one in favour of escape, men enough will always be found to risk. Besides, here comes an additional motive: here comes revenge on account of the suffering party. One, if not two, of the most terrible fires that have taken place, was the act of a

son, whose father had been transported for rioting by the Special Commission at WINCHESTER. In this very list of burnings, which I have inserted above, we find, that, while a farmer was gone to an examination before the magistrates, of persons *suspected* of having set fire to his *stacks* and *barns*, his *farm-house*, which had escaped before, took fire and was *burned to the ground*; and that this also was suspected to be a wilful act! Will nothing open your eyes? A *rural police* is talked of. The newspapers tell us that WELLINGTON asked MELBOURNE, whether it was intended to establish a *rural police*; and the same papers tell us (I hope falsely), that the latter seemed to answer in the affirmative. Gracious God! a rural police in a village of Wiltshire, or Hampshire, or Berkshire, or Sussex, or Kent, to protect corn ricks, standing out in the fields, each, on an average, a mile from any house! There will be another time and place for talking of this matter; therefore I shall say no more about it here.

I repeat, that there are no means of prevention but that of taking the disposition to do the thing out of the hearts and minds of the people; and, if I had the power that you have, out of their hearts and minds I would take that disposition in the course of one month, on pain of being racked on the wheel in case of failure. That is to say, in one month after the Parliament should meet; and I would have it together in fourteen days, the time limited by law, if I called it together in a tavern, or a play-house. Now, then, let me tell you *what I would do*, if I had the power; first laying down the principles upon which I would proceed, and stating shortly the notorious facts which call for the application of those principles.

It is notorious that the working people, in town and country, the latter especially, are in a state of great and general discontent. As Lord RADNOR says, in his evidence given to the Poor-law Commissioners, this has been produced by harsh treatment, of long growth, and, as my Lord STANHOPE ob-

served, a year or two ago, has at last produced a hostile feeling in the poor towards the rich. Laying the facts out of the question, though they are indubitable, reason tells us that this must be the case; because, if it were not so, there could not be generally prevalent this simultaneous disposition to commit these acts; and, besides, if this were not the case, numerous detections would take place. I will engage that, for every fire that is wilfully set, there are, on an average, forty persons, who could either give evidence of the fact sufficient for conviction, or who could furnish a clue to the obtaining of such evidence. Thus, in ordinary times, it is very rare that an act of arson escapes punishment. It is so terrific an act; it excites such general alarm, that the common feeling of self-preservation sets the whole neighbourhood at work; puts the whole country in motion to discover the perpetrator. How is it that this is not the case now? How is it that, now, instead of every creature running to help to put out the fire; instead of women and girls forgetting their sex, working, as if for their lives, to extinguish a fire; instead of this; instead of being ready to risk their lives in the work of extinguishment, how comes it that we see men, women, girls, and boys, standing by, and laughing at the destruction they behold; and how was it with you; what were your thoughts, when you heard the laugh from Westminster-bridge, re-echoed from Waterloo-bridge, when the Houses of Parliament were burning? And, will the "*rural police*," though armed, as in Ireland, with pistols, swords, daggers, carabines, and muskets, sent to remove the discontent; tend to take the resentful and revengeful feeling out of the hearts of the people?

Come! come down, proud stomach! It is useless to storm: it is useless to rage. It is useless to revile the thunder and the lightning; it is time to think of a reconciliation. For, when men cease to regard the wilfully setting of fire as a crime richly deserving of death; and when the death of the perpetrator ceases to be acquiesced in the manner that it

formerly was, it is obstinacy, it is madness, it is power in a passion, not to think of the means of bringing the people to their former way of thinking upon the subject. I would bring them back to that former way of thinking, if I had the power; and now I will tell you what I would do to effect that desirable purpose. I will state my measures to you; and, as you will see, they are all within your power. I will state them one by one: and, if I had the power they should be adopted within forty days from this time.

1. A complete, absolute, and entire, repeal of every part of the new Poor-law Bill.
2. A repeal of STURGES BOURNE'S Bills which gave to the rich a plurality of votes in the vestries; and which then gave them the power of forming select vestries; and the power of nullifying the old powers of the real overseer, and of the magistrate, and also the power of introducing hired overseers, strangers to the parish, which bills of STURGES BOURNE were the principal cause of the riots in 1830 and 1831.
3. A repeal of the new and severe Game Laws, which authorize the magistrates to transport for seven years men found, in the night time, in pursuit of pheasant or hare; those wild animals which the common law of England holds to be the common property of all mankind.
4. A repeal of Peel's new trespass-law, which punishes the trespasser without trial by jury; a repeal of PEELE'S new felony laws.
5. A repeal of the malt-tax.
6. Pass an act to restore young people to the farm-houses, by indirectly giving inducements to the farmers to have yearly servants as formerly.
7. Repeal the new law giving magistrates power to shut up foot-paths without setting out others in their stead.
8. Repeal PEELE'S BILL, and pass an act ON NORFOLK PETITION.
9. Abolish the Bourbon-like Police.

I think I see you sitting round a table, and *bursting out in laughter*, at this being read to you. Happy to see you so merry, gentlemen; but not being ambitious to be the subject of your mirth, I put on my hat and take my leave of you. Those are the things that I would do; those things you can do, if you like: I cannot make you do them; and if you will not do them, you must leave them undone. You call me "*innovater*," and "*revolutionist*": I propose to you to do nothing but to *remove innovations*, the oldest of which, except the malt-tax, is only of sixteen years' standing; several not of ten years' standing, and one of them the work of the "*REFORMED Parliament*"! I ask for nothing for the people, but to bring them back to *the laws of England*, such as they were only twenty years ago. However, *you* have the power, and *I* have not the responsibility; follow, you, your course, being assured that I will follow mine.

WM. COBBETT.

THE MINISTERIAL MESS.

"So when the dirty sloven once has thrown
"His suot into the mess, 'tis all his own."

SWIFT.

YES, "*'tis all their own*" now! no fear of rivals, except in cases where the *money* can be got at without the *responsibility*. BUXTON'S BLACKKEY, POOR-LAW ENLIGHTENING WORK, JACKSON'S PINCHER, BUSHEL OF WHEAT, IRISH TITHE-WORK, THIRTY-NINE-ARTICLE WORK. "*'Tis all their own*"; and let them keep it all to themselves; enjoying, at the same time, *their advice to the King not to restore to me my thousand pounds*; and enjoying also the reflection, that their magistrates and parsons did *their best* with the famous THOMAS GOODMAN; and enjoying further, the reflection on their HUMANE conduct in sparing the life of that "*poor deluded young man*," who set *five fires* with his own hand, and who made *confessions* about the "*lacters of a Mister Copit Copit*"; while HENRY COOK, under a sentence of

VAUGHAN, was hanged for striking BINGHAM BARING without doing him bodily harm!

Mr. ELLICE, it seems, has quitted his office of Secretary-at-War; and the newspapers tell us, that General VIVIAN refuses to take it. If this be true, these are both men of sense. People thought that I was jesting about six years ago, when I said that the concern would become so low at last that no man would touch it, who was not in *absolute want of the necessaries of life*. I never was more serious; and events seem to be pushing on very fast, to verify my prediction to the letter. It required no inspiration from above or below to foresee this result. When Norfolk petition had been rejected with scorn I knew where the thing must end.

BUXTON'S BLACKKEY.

HERE, CRACKED-SKULLS; you that shouted and bawled, and elected WILBERFORCE and BROUGHAM; you, whose hypocrisy is costing your country eight hundred thousand pounds a year; you who see the Irish people living upon potatoes and sea-weed while their meat and their flour and their butter are sent out to your friends, the blackkeys, and while your own carcasses, with those cracked skulls upon the tops of them, are drenched with *water-porridge*: read the following, you conceited and mischievous fanatics; and go away and do the work that these fat blackkeys used to do, and which they will no longer do.

The *Jamaica Herald* of 20. August, says:

"We have just seen a gentleman, who was present on most of the unruly estates during the late apprentice fever in St. Ann's.

"It had been 'given out' on the previous Sunday, by the *sectarian parson*, that a man named Baird, on Roaring River, or the Bog (we forget which), would, on the following Sabbath, preach a sermon at Ocho-Rios.

"This man was spokesman of the malecontents, and addressed Mr. Laidlaw, the special magistrate, to the fol-

lowing effect: 'Master, when God released the Israelites from bondage, did he make apprentices of them? Jesus Christ has made us free, and unless you will kiss the Bible and say, that the law which Jesus Christ has made, declares that we are to be apprentices, we will not work.'

"This speech the *deluded* man must have learnt like a parrot, from the mouth of one of his teachers. It behoves those in authority, to have an inquiry instituted into the practical effects of *sectarian influence*, lest these hypocrites again become 'the subjects,' as Lord Mulgrave said, of 'the most relentless persecution.'

"His Excellency, Lord Sligo, has been very unfortunate in his proclamations to the negroes: and to him (without intending, however, the slightest disrespect) may be attributed all the inconveniences, jarrings, and squabbles, that have occurred relative to the distribution of the four and a half hours, between the master and the apprentice. If the latter had never been told that he was entitled to have the half of Friday, he never would have expected it; but having received an assurance from the highest authority that he was entitled to it by law, he has shown himself resolute enough in insisting on it. And yet it was an egregious mistake to give him such assurance: for it is not according to law. The executive is now sensible of the blunder; and his Excellency has made, by his last proclamation, a sort of effort to correct it. But he has not appealed to the public in that dignified manner which even the public of Jamaica expect from a British nobleman: he has not admitted his mistake with the gallant generosity of his countrymen: he says nothing about it. Having told the apprentices that they were to work only four and a half days in the week in a former proclamation, he now advises them to consent or agree with their masters to work five days in the week, and to do one half hour's more work on the Friday than on the other four days. He tells them, also, that the master has a right to divide the forty and a half hours as he pleases, provided

that he do not exact more than nine hours' labour in any day from the apprentice. This will not satisfy the apprentice half so well as if he had said, 'Apprentices, I have made a mistake in laying down the law, which I have read over again. I told you you were to work only the half of Friday: I was wrong: it was my fault, and not your masters', that any cause of quarrel turned up between you.' The advice in the proclamation is unexceptionable.

"We have no doubt that the intention of the abolitionists was that the negroes should really have the Friday afternoon to go to their grounds and prepare for the Saturday market, or that the masters should pay them for their work on that afternoon after they (the negroes) had worked out the forty and a half hours; and therefore we admit without hesitation, that the governor has not issued his proclamations with any bad feelings towards the masters. He has meant well, but has made a mistake in the law as it stands; and if the apprentices had shown a disposition to meet the wishes of their masters, less harm would have followed from their contumacy than what is and has been experienced. *But they will not work for money!* We do not mean to make this as a general assertion; but we mean that on a great many estates the apprentices have positively refused to labour, even for money, beyond the prescribed hours. We know some properties whereon the boilers, stokers, trash-carriers, and mill feeders, declined working night spells on any terms. They said they had enough of spell. We know of others, where a macaroni a head was demanded for boiling off after sunset, for perhaps a couple of hours. On another property no temptation could persuade the negroes (not even the cash) to cut canes on a Saturday.

"Thus the expectations of the abolitionists, as to the negroes working for hire, do not appear as yet very likely to be realized; but, however, this was scarcely to be hoped by us. We trust that in all future proclamations the law, if necessary, will be laid down accu-

ately. The white people will not submit, nor can it be expected of them, to Orders in Council or out of Council; they can interpret the law almost as well as the attorney-general, and cannot but feel mortified and angry at any misconstructions of it to their prejudice, which may have received the sanction of the highest authorities in the island.

"Sept. 13.—It is with deep regret we have to announce, that in many districts of the country a most alarming and dangerous spirit of sulkiness and insubordination has been manifested by the new apprentices; and it is feared, with fair reason for the suspicion, that there are some evil instigators amongst them sowing the seeds of discord and discontent. An intelligent correspondent from Morant Bay on this subject observes: 'I cannot conceive what has thus influenced the people in this quarter. At first they were generally orderly and thankful. Some demon of discord has got amongst them, which, if so, I trust he will soon be discovered and made an example of, or when crop commences, not ten hogsheads of sugar will be made, where formerly two hundred were.' If such conduct had been manifested by the apprentices on the first or even second week of August, much allowance might have been made, but not at this late period; the more especially so as almost all the apprentices who have thus misconducted themselves have not only had the law and various proclamations explained to them by their masters, but by the special justice, and they admitted they thoroughly understood them, and the change they were to undergo, and they now take every opportunity to tell their new masters in the field, 'We know the new law as well as buckra, and the new law we will have, and not be imposed on any longer by buckra.' Their daily or weekly labour is not even a tithe of what they heretofore did; and it is perfectly clear that the most of them, if only coerced by admonition and left to themselves, will do no one thing so long as they are entitled to the maintenance they now enjoy from their masters, and they never will do so again until thrown

on their own resources by giving, or rather being made to give, a fair equivalent in labour as an exchange for all those indulgences. On Sunday they may be seen lying down about the works like hogs, and nearly as filthy.

"The Jamaica papers of the 16. of September say, in a letter from Lucca:

"There seems daily stronger cause to fear that insurmountable difficulty will attend the taking off the expected crop. On one of the best-conducted estates in this district, having a steam-engine at work, they cut canes for plants, and begin to make sugar with the butts. Last week, as soon as the shell was blown for the field gang to take their dinner time, the whole spell gang drew off, leaving the engine, coppers, &c. &c., to work by themselves, and no persuasion could induce the people about the works to resume their duty at the works until their time for shell blow to turn out had expired. It is notorious that the apprentices on this estate have been under most regular and humane treatment: and it is currently rumoured that the general feeling of the apprentices is not to work, or keep spell beyond the hours they may be compelled by law, even if a reasonable rate of wages should be offered them.

"An experienced planter in St. Ann's, under the date of the 17. inst., writes us—'The apprentices in this parish are daily becoming more insolent and lazy; so much so that a great change for the better or worse must soon take place. They are not earning fivepence per diem. This the master cannot stand.' From Hanover our correspondent writes: 'It is really laughable to find people awakening from their reveries, and discovering that the apprentices are not likely to work at all except in the hours which the law prescribes.

"At a plantation called Belvidere, the property of Mr. Cuthbert, the apprentices struck work: and upon the arrival of the special magistrate and a body of the police on the estate, they hooted and pelted the magistrate, and set fire to two trash-houses, which were burnt to the ground.

"In the *Gazette* is the following account of the *eruption* :

"We have been informed that the fire on Belvidere was happily got under at about eight o'clock at night, and that the police force and a militia guard were stationed on the property during last night. The apprentices attempted to rescue the prisoners, but were repulsed. The cause of this affair is said to be this : the stipendiary magistrate had visited the estate on the day above-named, and had ordered several of the apprentices who had been guilty of misdemeanour to receive corporal punishment on the estate. It had been stated to Mr. Lyon, in the early part of the morning, that the people on the estate were extremely unruly, in consequence of which he ordered the police force to be on the property, and when the punishment was to be inflicted on the delinquents a body of them prevented the order of the magistrate from being carried into effect. Immediately Mr. Lyon had left the property a messenger was sent to him, stating that the apprentices had set fire to the work. On being informed of this, Mr. Lyon applied to another magistrate at Morant Bay, to turn out the militia, but that gentleman thinking he had not the power, applied to the clerk of the peace for advice, who informed him that the senior officer on the Bay could order out the companies that were there. This order was therefore given, and two companies, with the constabulary force, mounted on horseback, proceeded to Belvidere, where they apprehended the ring-leaders. These men were marched off to Morant Bay jail, although an attempt was made to rescue them by their fellow-apprentices ; who were with difficulty repressed, even at the point of the bayonet."

HISTORY OF GEORGE THE FOURTH.

It is necessary for every one, who wishes to be able to form a sound judgment of what is now going to happen, and especially to form a sound judgment

with regard to the characters of all the actors now upon the stage ; it is necessary for him to read this book, which clearly develops all the proximate causes of the present difficulties, embarrassments, discontents, and dangers. It embraces the most interesting period of the history of our country ; it takes a look back too ; it shows us how we have been brought down and plunged into that demi-confusion which now reigns throughout the kingdom ; it presents to young men especially the means of clearly understanding, that without a knowledge of which they cannot well know what they now ought to think and ought to do. In order to give the public as full a description as I can of the contents of this book, I shall here insert the *CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE*, which is published at the end of it, the perusal of which Table will show the readers of this how various and how interesting the matters are which are contained in these two little volumes.

1762.

GEORGE IV. born.

1787.

Prince's enormous debts, first time, paid.

1793.

War against the French Republic began.

1795.

Prince's marriage

Prince's enormous debts paid a second time.

1796.

Princess Charlotte born.

Separation of the prince from his wife.

1806.

Whig ministry formed.

The investigation into the conduct of the princess.

1807.

Whig ministry turned out.

1810.

Report of the bullion committee.

Cobbett's punishment for writing against the flogging of English local militia men at Ely, under a guard of Hanoverian bayonets.

1811.

Regency established.

First provocation given to the Americans by the frigate *Guerriere*, Capt. Samuel Brod. Pechell.

The English ship *Little Belt* mauled by the frigate *President*.

1812.

Perceval killed by Bellingham.

Threatening letters against the regent.

Clergy call for a vigorous prosecution of the war, and for prompt measures against domestic traitors.

American declaration of war.

Insolent English order in council in answer to it.

Great suffering amongst the working people.

Hanging of a woman at Manchester for snatching some potatoes out of a market-cart.

Immense sums granted to Perceval's wife and son.

American War — The perfidious doings of CAPTAIN HENRY, employed by the British to stir up sedition in the United States.

Pressed American seamen imprisoned at Dartmoor.

English frigate *Guerriere* commanded by the *Honourable* Captain DACRES, sunk by an American frigate, 30. August.

English frigate *Macedonian*, Captain Carden, captured by the American frigate *United States*, Captain Decatur.

English frigate *Java*, Captain Lambert, knocked to pieces by the American frigate *Constitution*, Captain Bainbridge.

American frigate *Chesapeake*, Captain Lawrence, captured by the English frigate *Shannon*, Captain Broke.

1813.

Mr. Cochrane Johnstone's motion relative to the *man child* which the Douglasses had sworn to be a child of the princess of Wales.

THE BOOK published in London.

The city of London, on the motion of Mr. Alderman Wood, address the princess, and carry and present the address at Kensington Palace.

The secretary of state (Sidmouth) refused to publish the address in the *London Gazette*.

Two English ships of war taken by an American frigate.

The English fleets taken on the Lakes by inferior force.

1814.

The princess is prevailed upon by Canning to go abroad.

Burning of Moscow by the "*magnanimous*" Alexander.

First fall of Napoleon. He goes to Elba.

The old battered Bourbons return to France.

Peace of Paris, 30. May.

Mortification of the English borough-mongers at seeing France left in so good a state; and loud complaints that her museums were left her.

Rejoicings in England, roasting of sheep and oxen; visit of the Russian autocrat and the king of Prussia. Disgraceful public delusion.

Base conduct of "the ladies of England."

Glorious victory over the Americans, on the *Serpentine River*, in *Hyde Park*.

Waste of the public money on shows and exhibitions.

Threats against JAMES MADISON (the American president). The necessity of deposing him.

Agreement of the allies, at Vienna, not to interfere in favour of America.

John Wilson Croker's manifesto.

The English press insists on measures to destroy the American navy at once.

Pacific professions of the English government while it was preparing to ravage the American coasts.

Tierney deceives Mr. Bayard.

Canning's insolent and contemptuous language with regard to the American navy.

Cochrane, Cockburn, Warren, and Ross, ravage the American sea-coast.

Bloody deeds of the English Indians at Frenchtown.

Sackings and burnings at the town of Hampton, in Virginia.

Burning of the city of Washington.

President's appeal to the people.

Attempt of the English to take Baltimore. Ross, the English general, killed by an American boy.

English driven from before Baltimore and compelled to bear out to sea.

Unparalleled valour of the crew of the American privateer, the General Armstrong.

Lists of all the ships taken on both sides during the war.

Battle of Sandusky, where a handful of Americans repulsed and routed an English army.

Treaty of peace, 24. December. And the treaty at full length. The conduct of the English government in proclaiming this peace.

1815.

Return of Napoleon from Elba, and the causes of it.

Flight of the old battered Bourbons to Ghent.

Declaration of the allies against Napoleon. Prince Regent's message to parliament for war against Napoleon.

Proceedings in parliament relative to the war against Napoleon. Ever-memorable debates.

Battle of Waterloo.

Napoleon at Plymouth.

Napoleon sent to St. Helena.

Treaty of Paris, 20. November.

The killing of Marshal Ney.

Seizure of the museums at Paris.

Curious letters of Castlereagh and Wellington on this subject.

Castlereagh, on his arrival from Paris, received by the House of Commons, the members all rising up, standing uncovered, and clapping their hands.

Immense grants of public money to Wellington.

The nation begins to find that it has a reckoning to pay, and sadness succeeds joy.

The effects of a diminution of the quantity of paper-money.

Glorious victory (8. January) at New Orleans, gained by the American General Jackson, over the English army (seven times his number), under Gene-

ral Packenham, Gibbs, Kean, and Lambert, and over Cochrane and Cockburn, with their ships and their gun-boats. Horrible slaughter of the English army, while the American general lost only seven men.

(April.) The killing of the American prisoners of war in Dartmoor prison.

Complaints about taxes, and numerous meetings for a repeal of them.

The parliament passes a corn-bill, to keep up the price of corn.

1816.

An address attempted to be got up at Maidstone: the people about to throw the addressers into the Medway.

1817.

Marriage of the princess Charlotte.

REFORM again raises its head.

Dungeon law and gagging laws passed.

Reformers put into dungeons by Sidmouth. Their dreadful sufferings.

1818.

Bill of Indemnity for acts done under the laws of 1817.

Riots in Derbyshire. Death of Brandreth, Ludlam, and Turner.

1819.

Dreadful slaughter of reformers at Manchester.

PEEL'S BILL passed.

History of the "*Bank-restriction*" from its commencement in 1797 to 1819.

The famously stupid and mischievous Act at full length.

How this operated on the base borough-mongers; how it took away their rents and estates; how they cringed to the Jews and other money-monsters; how they *themselves sold that game to them*, which, for ages, they had made it a crime to sell or to buy: how, with their own hands, they thus pulled themselves down.

SIX ACTS passed. *Opposed by the Whigs, but not repealed by them.*

1820.

Thistlewood, Ings, Brunt, and Tidd, executed for having formed a plot to kill the ministers. Their defence; their unequalled bravery.

Napoleon's death.

George III. died in January.

Queen Caroline's strange conduct in not hastening to England.

In June she arrived at St. Omers, in France, on her way to England.

She is met at St. Omers, by Lord Hutchinson and Mr. Brougham, who offer her a pension of 50,000*l.* a year, if she will consent never to come to England, and will renounce her title and rights as queen.

She slips away from these two envoys, and comes off to England with all possible speed.

Her reception by the people; their excessive joy; their resolution to uphold her against all her foes.

Reluctance of the ministers to gratify the wishes of the king by measures of open force.

King's message to the two Houses, 6. June

Queen's message to the two Houses, demanding the enjoyment of her rights.

A negotiation carried on to get her out of the country, by Wellington and Castle-reagh on one side, and by Brougham and Denman on the other, the result of which was, that these latter agreed that she *should go*, on certain terms, which terms the other party would not agree to.

Great surprise and indignation and suspicions and murmurings excited amongst the people, by her having consented to go on any terms.

Cobbett's private letter to her on the subject, depicting the certain ruin to her which must arise from consenting to go, on any terms.

The House of Commons now address her with a view of getting her out of the country.

Cobbett's private letter to her, advising her to reject the advice tendered to her by the House; the answer which he advised her to give to that address.

The deputation of the Commons wait on her with the address.

She rejects the answer proposed to her by Brougham.

Her answer.

Cobbett's private letter to her, expressing the sorrow of the people that she had

not positively asserted, that she would not quit the country, and beseeching her to make such assertion, in a public manner, as soon as possible.

The salutary and complete effect of this letter.

She makes the assertion which he was so anxious to see.

Cobbett's motives for acting this part.

Nature and tendency of the advice which he gave the queen.

The queen having come to this resolution, the prosecution of her was resolved on, and the Bill of Pains and Penalties brought into the House of Lords.

The Bill of Pains and Penalties itself.

All England thrown into a ferment by the promulgation of this bill.

The Bill read a first time on the 6. of July, and the trial (or second reading) put off to 17. August.

The bold proceedings of the press and the people during the interval, and the state of complete seclusion in which the king thought it prudent to live. The outcries against him: the odium brought upon him.

The SECOND READING of the Bill of Pains and Penalties.

The proceedings against the queen opened by the attorney-general Gifford.

"*Peep at the Peers*" published.

"*Letter of the Queen to the King*" published.

Prodigious circulation and prodigious effect of these publications.

The witnesses against the queen (26 in number). Swiss, Germans, and Italians, hunted out of England by the people, and shipped off to Holland by the government.

Brought back by water in an armed vessel, and landed near the Parliament House, in a sort of *fortress*, from which they were conducted into the House of Lords by a *subterraneous passage*.

London surrounded by troops and cannon, the streets barricaded, soldiers and policemen stationed everywhere.

The attorney-general's opening speech.

Cobbett's answer to that speech.

Effect of these on the minds of the people.

Total discredit thrown on the witnesses.

Excellent conduct of the press and of the people.

Miserable defence of the queen by her lawyers.

The Lords, after long debating, finally reject the bill.

Voted her guilty three times, and, from fear of the people, flinched at last.

Demonstrations of triumph on the part of the people.

The queen instantly begins to fall.

The Whig aristocracy get about her.

She takes back her old chamberlains, CRAVEN and GELL.

She affronts the people by cold and repulsive answers to their addresses.

She lays restrictions on their approaches to her.

Cobbett, seeing that the project was revived for getting her out of the country, writes a private letter to Lady Ann Hamilton. *The letter.*

Public official notification from Craven and Gell, forbidding, in fact, the people to approach her person any more.

The people cease to talk, or to think, about her.

1821.

The king's coronation in July.

His visit to Ireland.

The queen, as a just reward of her ingratitude, being totally abandoned by the people, is thrust back from the door of Westminster Abbey by the hands of a common prize-fighter.

Her death, twenty days after the coronation of her husband.

Her funeral procession: fights between the soldiers and the people over her coffin: two men killed in these fights.

The king's visit to Hanover.

1822.

Agricultural distress: wheat fallen to 4s. 6d. the bushel.

The tables of the Houses of Parliament loaded with petitions from farmers and landlords, complaining of this distress.

The parliament, to raise prices, passed a law, in July, to authorize the issuing of one-pound notes for *eleven years*, which was a repeal of the most important of the provisions of Peel's Bill.

The king's visit to Scotland.

1823.

Prices began to rise at a rapid rate, and all seemed flourishing.

1824.

Prices still rose, money-gambling seized on the nation.

Loans to all the world were made.

People talked of nothing but loans and funds and stock.

Joint-stock companies were formed for the most ridiculous objects.

The chancellor of the exchequer, Robinson, boasted (February) of the *prosperity* of the country, which he ascribed to the measures of the parliament, and reviled those who wished any *reform* in that parliament.

1825.

The bubble bursted in November. The gold had nearly disappeared long before.

Mr. Jones, of Bristol, petitioned the parliament against a banker who refused to pay in gold.

People ran for gold universally.

In December there was a general alarm.

This crisis took the name of the PANIC.

About a hundred country banks broke.

The Bank of England narrowly escaped.

1826.

Law to suppress one-pound notes in England.

Prices fall instantly.

Prodigious ruin following this measure.

The feebleness and embarrassment of the government arising from this cause.

Dungeons and gags cannot cause wheat to be sold at 10s. a bushel in gold currency.

This change (beginning in 1822) broke down the insolence of such men as CASTLEREAGH, LIVERPOOL, and CANNING.

CASTLEREAGH (August 1822) cut his own throat, at North Cray, in Kent: his character: his deeds: his alleged insanity: his burial: the power he possessed in the government, at the moment when he cut his throat: the verdict of the jury: the conduct of the coroner.

1827.

LIVERPOOL'S extinguishment complete.

CANNING prime minister in May: boggles and reels about like a baby till August, and then died, and became forgotten in a week: his character: his origin: his base insolence towards the reformers: his sackings of the public money.

LORD GODERICH (Frederick Robinson) succeeds Canning: quits his post at the end of a few weeks: is succeeded by the Duke of Wellington: the duke finds that the "*word of command*" will not raise 59 millions a year with wheat at 6s. a bushel.

1828.

THE TEST AND CORPORATION ACTS repealed: this was the first distinct blow at the Church.

1829.

The repeal of the laws against the CATHOLIC RELIGION, which repeal took the name of Catholic Emancipation: brought forward by the DUKE and Sir ROBERT PEEL, as the best means of upholding the Protestant Hierarchy in Ireland!

The difficulties of the government go on increasing: the means of the nation diminishing: its burdens increasing, in fact, though not in nominal amount: the landowners looking about them for help, vainly hope to find in the "*vigour and decision*" of the "*Hero of Waterloo*," who was unable to make wheat rise in price, however able he had been to expend the money borrowed for the carrying-on of the war.

1830.

Great distress in the country: the people, at last, fixed on a *reform of the parliament* as the only effectual remedy: the country full of discontent: in this state of things (26. June) the Big "SOVEREIGN" died.

The new king's angry speech on proroguing the parliament.

The Duke of Wellington's *declaration against Reform*, on the same day.

The rage of the people at hearing this declaration: the gross insults which the duke had to endure: his name rubbed

out from the corners of streets: his picture rubbed out of signs; his bullet-proof window-shutters.

The memorable *burial-day* of "the SOVEREIGN": conduct of the people of London on this occasion.

The sort of life that he led from the year 1822 to the day of his death.

The base adulation of royalty which became fashionable.

The CHARACTER of "the SOVEREIGN": the severe punishment of the MESSRS. HUNT, of the EXAMINER newspaper, for having spoken of him: the cowed-down state of the press: the prosecution of the same gentlemen for an alleged libel on the dead George III.!

We may say what we please in *praise* of sovereigns, dead or alive.

Sir Robert Peel's praises of Geo. IV.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS during this regency and reign.

BURDENS which the Big "SOVEREIGN" left on the backs of his people, and to which he had added a permanent weight of nine millions a year.

TABLE (from official accounts) showing the amount, in each year of this regency and reign, of the TAXES, of the COLLECTION, and of the cost of DEBT, ARMY, NAVY, ORDNANCE, CIVILIST, SECRET SERVICES, and the amount of money voted *out of the taxes* for the church parsons.

Monstrousness of this taxation and expenditure.

It now shakes all the ancient institutions and all property.

SUFFERINGS, privations, ruin, and misery of the people, arising from these burdens.

IN THE CHURCH abuses enormous: churches suffered to fall down: the aristocratical clergy taking away the means of existence from the working clergy: the revenues of the parishes carried away and spent at a distance: the people straying into all sorts of sects.

CRIME increases in proportion as the misery of the people increases; till, at last, their ideas come back to the law of nature, which tells every hungry man to take food where he can find it.

NEW AND SEVERE LAWS to check this increase of crime: a total departure from all the main principles of English law.

A fearful looking forward towards that which is to come, as the final and natural consequence of this long, this taxing, this squandering, regency and reign, during which the great land-owners of England, by endeavouring to extinguish the last remains of English freedom, put their own estates in jeopardy.

LORD DURHAM.

GLASGOW FESTIVAL TO THE EARL OF DURHAM.

(From the Times.)

(Continued from p. 444.)

For more than 20 years I have laboured honestly, zealously, and conscientiously, in the public cause. (Cheers). I have never deviated, as my hon. Friend your excellent Chairman has told you, at least my conscience acquits me of having ever deviated either to the right or to the left. I have pursued unceasingly the path pointed out to me by my excellent father, to whom he alluded; and if I can continue to pursue the same course, I believe and trust that I shall continue to be honoured with your applause. (Cheers). But if you are thus kind, I might say if you are thus just to me, there are others who will not mete out to me the same justice. (Cheers, and cries of "Shame"). It may be, perhaps, on account of the too great favour which I find at your hands. (Cheers). Every inducement has been tendered to me since I received your invitation to prevent me from coming to meet you here this day. (Immense cheering). I was told forsooth that I should find your principles too violent, and that I should commit myself by endeavouring to follow up those opinions which tend to the destruction of all good government. (Cheers). My answer to all this was twofold. In the first place I denied that I should find any such principles here among the men of Glasgow, (cheers), and I ask you fearlessly whe-

ther the events of this day have not proved my anticipations to be correct? I ask you, who have looked round upon the immense multitudes assembled upon the green this day, and who have listened to the sentiments contained in the addresses presented to me; I ask you whether there is any the slightest foundation for such a report. (Loud cries of No, no). But, gentlemen, I must say, in justice, that this injustice meted out to me came only from one quarter of the country. You are all aware of the quarter to which I allude. (A scornful laugh of recognition). I set aside for the present our mutual enemies the Tories; but among those who profess liberal sentiments I know of an attack from one quarter only, and that quarter is the capital of this country. (Cheers). I ask you is that attack just, is it fair, is it founded on public principle? Is there any public principle which I have violated? Why, then, if no public principle is concerned, why am I thus turned round upon by these persons and denounced as a tyrant in private, and as an impostor in public? (Cheers). I will not seek to discover their motives, if they be not founded on public reasons. It would be too painful for me to reflect upon the motives by which their attacks may have been prompted. But I will take this opportunity of doing myself an act of justice before you, my fellow-citizens of Glasgow, I will avail myself of this opportunity to justify myself, which I will do (great cheers) against these accusations. I will state to you, first, what the accusations are. I will not blink any one charge preferred against me. First of all, it is stated that I wished to propose a less popular plan of reform than that which was given to the people by the Government. (Hear). I distinctly and positively assert to you that that is false. (Deafening cheers). The next charge against me is, that I willingly consented to certain mutilations of the Reform Bill. I shall prove to you how false that charge is, when I state to you that I was not in England when those mutilations I and changes were engrafted on it. (Cheers). I had just suffered the first of a series of

calamities which might have unnerved a man of the steadiest mind, and had been kindly and considerately permitted by my sovereign to travel for a time to recruit my health and spirits. (Cheers). I was not, I say, in England then, and I therefore cannot be considered answerable for the preparations for the second Reform Bill. (Cheers). You are all aware, gentlemen, of the public contradiction which I have felt it necessary to give to certain charges affecting my public character. After making that contradiction public, I felt that my first duty was to consult upon the subject a person then filling the highest station in the country, who had, as I think you will allow, a right to be consulted by me upon it. There is no man living who has a more complete case in vindication than I have. (Cheers). But I placed myself in his hands, and wished to have permission from him to state every circumstance. I believe the shortest way for me to proceed will be to read the letter which Earl Grey has addressed to me on the subject. It is as follows :—

“ Howick, Oct. 23.

“ My dear Lambton,—In answer to your desire to know how far you would be justified in stating publicly what occurred in the preparation and discussion of the Reform Bill by the King’s confidential servants, I can have no hesitation in saying that, in my opinion, no such disclosure can be made, consistently with the obligations of private confidence and of public duty. Were all that has taken place with respect to individual opinions, or the various modifications which almost every measure of Government must undergo, before it is finally agreed upon, to be exposed to public view, there must be an end of all security and confidence in his Majesty’s councils.

“ Having stated this opinion confidently and frankly, it may, perhaps, be satisfactory to you to add, that, in all my communications with you on the subject of the Reform Bill, nothing occurred to cast a doubt on the consistency of your principles, or on your sincere and anxious desire to assist in ren-

dering it a safe and efficacious measure.

“ Believe me ever, my dear Lambton,

“ Yours most faithfully,

“ And affectionately,

“ GREY.”

You will therefore perceive that I am precluded from stating the particulars relative to the preparation of the second Reform Bill, which tend to the justification of myself from these charges, and you must therefore be content to take my asseveration, which I now solemnly make to you, that I am not guilty of the charges preferred against me. (Cheers). I also wish to take this opportunity to state that there is another accusation against me as unfounded as that to which I have already alluded. It has been stated as an excuse for the half revelations which have been made on the subject of the Reform Bill, that I was the first to disclose the secrets of the Cabinet when addressing my friends at Gateshead. I deny the truth of this charge. I never disclosed any secret. I never stated any Cabinet transactions, and I will prove to you how impossible it is that I should have done so in this instance. I refer such of you as take any interest in my public conduct to a speech of mine, which now stands as a record, and contains evidence which those that can may turn against me. All I stated on that occasion at Gateshead was, that Earl Grey had intrusted to me the preparation of the Reform Bill, and that I had been assisted in that task by three of my colleagues, was that a secret? It might not, perhaps, be known to my friends in Durham, but it was notorious to every man living in the metropolis where I had been residing; for all the memorials to the Treasury, and all the deputations to the Prime Minister, were referred by him to me. I saw the parties in my own house; I received there every information which I thought likely to elucidate the subject. Did I then disclose any secret at Gateshead? I say I did not, and I therefore again deny the charge that in anything which I uttered at any meeting I ever said a syllable disclosing either what had been done in the committee or what was subsequently done in the Cabinet. (Cheers). But

enough, gentlemen, of myself. Let me rather direct your attention to that great public object, which is the best justification of the honours which you have this day conferred upon me, and of my acceptance of them. If ever there was a time when mutual co-operation and active combination among the friends of liberal principles was not only expedient, but absolutely necessary, it is the present. (Cheers). We have fought an arduous battle, and won a glorious victory. But our enemy is still in the field and in force, and we must not repose in the security of past triumphs, but must rise to the consciousness of an impending struggle. I only ask you to look around. See the activity and combination of all parties in the empire; see the stirring bustle of the Tories in all parts of England and Scotland. From one extremity of the empire to the other: from Ramsgate and Canterbury up even to Perth (a laugh); from the highest to the lowest; from the Duke of Wellington to Lord Stormont (bursts of laughter); all are on the alert. Look again at Ireland. See the activity of the Orangemen and the Repealers; and are we, we, the Reformers of England and Scotland; are we alone to remain supine and inactive? (Cheers). No; let us be up and stirring. (Cheers). Let us show our enemies that we will not be taken by surprise, and our friends and leaders that we are determined as ever in the pursuit of our acknowledged rights. (Cheers). We must not suffer the Reform Bill to become a dead letter, or, what is worse, merely an instrument of party triumph; but we must make it what it ought to be, and what it shall be (cheers)—a great instrument of national regeneration. (Cheers). Gentlemen, I cannot adequately describe to you the importance which I attach to the present crisis. If the House of Commons in the next session of Parliament do its duty to itself and the constituency, all may be made right; but if, unfortunately, it should shrink from the high task which circumstances impose upon it, and if it should pursue an uncertain and vacillating course, irretrievable ruin will be

the consequence. (Hear). Let me ask you, however, one question, "Have you no duty to perform?" (Cries of yes). Aye, you have; you have an important and essential duty to perform; you have to keep a watchful eye over your representatives. (Great cheering and laughter, in which Mr. Oswald, to whom Lord Durham had pointedly turned, cordially joined). You must show them that you are not to be trifled with, and you must require from them the reaping of that harvest the seeds of which you have planted, and the coming of which you have waited for with such exemplary patience. (Loud cheering). No doubt many and weighty obstacles will be in your path, and in the path of your truly honest and independent representatives; but all can be overcome with firmness and decision, but not with rashness and violence. (Cheers). In the spirit of firmness and decision you must act, for we have great and important objects still to accomplish. We have to require the perfecting of the Reform Act. (Cheers.) We have to require the repeal of the Septennial Act. (Cheers). We have to require the purification of the church establishment of England and Ireland from all acknowledged abuses. (Long-continued cheering). We have to require the reform of corporation abuses in England, and the strictest continuance in economy and retrenchment. (Cheers). No doubt there are many other measures emanating from these to which I have alluded, and on which my sentiments are well known. There may be some difference of opinion entertained with regard to some of them, but I have only alluded at present to those on which no friend of reform can entertain a doubt. Shall any one tell me that the attainment of these objects cannot but be attended with danger to the institutions of the country? For that is the cry now attempted to be raised against me. (Cheers). I would relieve the Dissenters, and would purify the church from abuses for the sake of justice and for the advancement of true religion. Is that attended with danger to the institutions of the country? (No, no). I would reform corporations so as

to make them what they profess and what they ought to be, the correct representatives of local rights. Is that attended with danger to the institutions of the country? (No, no). No! I repeat your words, and I assert that the true result of timely and not too-long-delayed reform is to preserve all that is valuable by removing all that is corrupt in our institutions. (Immense cheering). These are my opinions, and these are my principles: I have never concealed them, and I never will. (Cheers). I would not accept the highest office in the gift of the Crown; I would not even receive the warm and enthusiastic approbation of you, my fellow-countrymen, if either were to be gained by the concealment of a single opinion, or by the compromise of a single principle. (Cheers). I am, moreover, determined that my opinions and principles shall be known and judged from my own representations of them, and not from the false and interested description of them by others. By one party I am denounced as a destructive, by another as patronizing the impatience of the people. (Cheers and laughter). Now, my opinions are neither the one nor the other of these. I know too well the artificial and complicated state of society in this country, and the absolute necessity of public confidence in the permanence of tranquillity, and the danger which arises from the interruption of the peaceful working of our commercial machinery, to propose any measure which should impede the peaceful flow of national industry and the regular operations of trade and commerce. (Cheers). But it is because I wish to see tranquillity perpetual, industry protected, commercial energy encouraged, that I advocate the necessity of an immediate and salutary reform, which will remove discontent before it has time to ripen into turbulence (cheers for some minutes), and will dissipate on the horizon the dark and hostile clouds which, if suffered to burst in mid heaven, will not only disturb the serenity of the sky, but will also pour down on the earth devastation and ruin. (Cheers). Now as to the charge of impatience. (Laughter). It

has been lately brought against us by one most eminent person (cheers and laughter), and, if I may judge from the report of a speech which was delivered in a distant part of the empire, in no very complimentary terms. But I will not follow the example which he has set us, and nothing shall fall from my lips inconsistent with his high station and his former services in the cause of his country. (Cheers). He has been pleased, for the allusion cannot be misunderstood, to challenge me to meet him in the House of Lords, (Laughter). I know well the meaning of the taunt. He is aware of his infinite superiority over me in one respect, and so am I. (Cheers and cries of no). He is a practised orator and a powerful debater. I am not. I speak but seldom in Parliament, and always with reluctance in an assembly where I meet with no sympathy from an unwilling majority. (Cheers). Do not, gentlemen, misunderstand me, when speaking of that majority. I will not condescend either to ridicule those who form it at one time, nor to flatter them at another. (Great cheering). They differ from me conscientiously. I know that. They have been brought up to believe that all we ask for is dangerous to the institutions of the country. I know it, and I lament it; but I will not on that account impute to them improper motives. (Hear). He knows full well the advantage which he has over me, and he knows too that in any attack which he may make on me in the House of Lords, he will be warmly and cordially supported by them. (Cheers). With all these manifold advantages almost overwhelming, I fear him not (immense cheers); and I will meet him there, if it be unfortunately necessary to repeat what he was pleased to term my criticisms. (Cheers). And yet, without being suspected of fear, may I hope that those criticisms may be rendered unnecessary? Many of his colleagues were my intimate associates in office, and many of them are my private and intimate friends. Lord Melbourne, the Prime Minister, I believe to be an honest, straightforward states-

man, incapable of intrigue and treachery [the peculiar emphasis placed on the three last words by Lord Durham created a burst of feeling which it is impossible to describe]; and too clear and enlightened not to see the course which events are taking, and how absolutely necessary it is to comply with the general demand for reform and improvement. I therefore trust that his wisdom, firmness, and discretion will render all criticism unnecessary, and will leave only the grateful task of praise and acquiescence. (Cheers). And now to the charge itself. Impatience! The accusation is absurd, I may almost say monstrous. Where and when has it been exhibited? Not in the House of Commons surely, where the Government has received more continued and constant support than any that ever preceded it. Not in the country surely, for whatever we may have felt, till the last few weeks we have said nothing (cheers), and if at length our remonstrances have been made known, it was because we feared that our silence would be misconstrued and perverted. (Cheers). Another charge that has been brought against us is, that we wished for crude and undigested measures. Such a desire only existed in the imagination of the orator. (Cheers). Why should we wish for crude and undigested measures? First of all we want measures, next we want measures fully considered, and not subject to mutilation and compromise, the ill effects of which I pointed out at another meeting. (Cheers). And here let me observe, that when I alluded to the subject of compromise, I meant compromise with an enemy, not that fair concession which may and must occasionally take place with a friend. (Cheers). There is no real reformer but will yield his opinion on minor points to those who are actuated by the same principles with himself; but what I object to is the system of mutilating and compromising to gain an enemy who cannot be conciliated. I have already alluded to the difficulties in which the Government has been placed, and in which it gained the unflinching support of the House of Commons.

There is, however, one difficulty which I have not yet seen pointed out, and which is at the same time so peculiar that I must be permitted to call your attention to it. We have a liberal administration, professing liberal principles, supported by an immense liberal majority in the House of Commons, and that majority returned by a liberal constituency; and yet, with a Government so constituted, so maintained, and so supported, we have Ministers surrounded in every department by Tory subalterns. The patronage of the army and the church is still exercised by Tories for the benefit of Tories. (Cheers). All appointments by bishops, judges, magistrates, lord-lieutenants, are Tories. (Cheers). The diplomacy of the country is composed of nearly the same persons as it was in the time of my Lord Liverpool, and is entirely Tory. (Cheers). In short, all the inferior instruments through which the liberal measures of a liberal Government are to be accomplished are anti-liberal. (Cheers). How then is it possible that such a system can work harmoniously and beneficially to the best interests of the country? (Hear, hear). For rather would I have a Tory Government, acting with Tory agents, for then we should have our enemies before our faces, and not behind our backs, than a liberal Government, checked, thwarted, and undermined by what ought to be its main sources of efficiency. (Cheers). Am I not right then in saying that this is one of the chief difficulties by which the Government is surrounded? On whom, then, ought Ministers to rely? On the House of Commons, which has always stood by them; on the liberal constituency, which has returned that House of Commons; and, above all, on the people at large, who have before now carried them triumphantly through all their difficulties. (Cheers). And it is with a full conviction of the necessity of this reliance, and further with a full conviction of the gratitude which we owe to those who stood forward in support of the cause of their country, and who vindicated the safety of liberty, that I now come to the consideration of the

toast which has been assigned to me, and which I now hold in my hands. I am required by the stewards to propose a sentiment, in which I most cordially concur, and if I have not come to it before, if I have detained you longer than was fitting, (loud cries of "No,") it was because I felt that I was bound to explain, and I trust that the explanation has been satisfactory (cheers), how matters really stood, and to prove that you were justified in honouring me as you have honoured me to-day. (Cheers). I have explained the opinions which I entertain on all great public questions, and thanking you for the kind reception you have given me, and feeling the utmost satisfaction in your concurrence in my view of public affairs, I now request you to drink this sentiment, which I adopt most gratefully, "May the recollection of the glorious struggle for reform during the last half century ever animate Britons in the demand for, and in the maintenance of, their rights." (Great cheering).

The CHAIRMAN said, that after the very brilliant and argumentative speech which they had just heard delivered by their noble guest, he could not well expect to claim their attention. At the same time, in proposing the toast which he was now about to give, he would take the liberty to offer to their consideration one or two observations. He conceived that he would not be considered as taxing their patience too much in doing so, when they were aware that the toast he rose to propose was "Earl Grey and the Reform Act." (Cheers). The noble Lord, their noble guest, had told them that day, that he claimed no merit to himself for the Reform Bill; that the merit of it belonged neither to him, nor to any other individual, but that the whole merit of that act was to be attributed to Earl Grey. (Hear, hear). Now, however they might differ from Earl Grey on some points, yet, when they considered that it was to that noble lord they were indebted for the Reform Act, a measure that placed the country in a situation to obtain all that is wanted, he was sure that they would agree with him in thinking that they owed a

debt of gratitude to Earl Grey which they could scarcely ever repay. (Cheers). He would just advert to one or two points in regard to the administration of that noble lord. That it achieved a great victory for the country in carrying the Reform Bill, all would admit. That after the passing of the Reform Bill it stood upon the clear principle that the Government should not be, as formerly, one of influence and corruption, but a Government of principle would be as readily granted. He was not, besides, blind to the difficulties which that Government had to contend against. Their noble guest had just alluded to some of them, and unfortunately those to which he had referred existed in as much strength to-day as they did three years ago. (Hear, hear). It always appeared to him that one great difficulty pervaded the proceedings of that Government, namely, an indecision as to coming to the point with their adversaries. (Hear, hear). Another great and self-created difficulty of that Government was, that they compromised with their enemies, knowing, as they must, all the time, that the greatest possible compromises they could make with such a view, would not advance them a single step, or gain for them the slightest real support in such quarters. (Cheers). There were portions, too, of that administration, that in themselves constituted substantial difficulties in the way of its effecting useful and general reforms, and whose separation from it well deserved to be a source of public confidence and congratulation. He did not of course allude to Earl Grey, but he alluded to those late members of the administration who had been happily relieved of their public duties (a laugh), who always had the profession of reform and of liberal principles on their lips, but who, when the time came for action, at once declared themselves the advocates of Tory principles. (Hear). The Government had a happy riddance of such men. (Cheers). Another difficulty that had attended Earl Grey's administration was, that having carried the Reform Act, and having been, in fact, carried into power on the should-

ers of the people, it appeared always to dread the confidence of the people. (Hear, hear). Now, if a Government will but repose trust and confidence in a liberal and enlightened people, it will be respected by them, and no difficulties or dangers, of any kind, will stand in its way. (Cheers). He hoped and trusted that the late infusion of liberal principles into the Cabinet, would justify the reformers in looking forward to better days. (Cheers). The new members of the Cabinet were imbued with thoroughly liberal principles, and he hoped that they would see the fruits of their accession to office before many months had elapsed. He agreed with his noble Friend, that the sure way to make the representatives of the people do their duty, was for their constituents to look after them. (Hear, hear). He would now give them "Earl Grey and the Reform Act." (Great applause).

Mr. COLIN DUNLOP, who acted as croupier, proposed the next toast, "The Repeal of the Septennial Act"; but owing to the distance from which he spoke, but little of what he said reached us. He contended that the Reform Bill should be only regarded as a means to an end; as a means for obtaining all those various measures of reform and improvement that the wants of the country demanded. There were many reforms which the people called for, and which they must have. They wanted free trade in corn. (Cheers.) They wanted a reform of the abuses of the church. They wanted a commutation of taxes, and an adaptation of them to the means of those who paid them. A reform, too, in the House of Lords must come soon. (Great cheering). He had mentioned to them some out of the long catalogue of reforms that still remained to be accomplished. A noble and learned Lord, who had lately been making a progress through Scotland, had talked much and often of what had been done in the last and in the preceding session of Parliament, and that learned individual, in fact, seemed to intimate, that because so much, according to his account, had been done in the two former sessions, little remained

to be done now. (Laughter, and cries of Hear). Though the Parliament, since it had been reformed, had done a good deal of worth, a great deal more remained for it to get through. (Cheers). If the Lord Chancellor had said that the House of Commons had already done too much, then, indeed, they could understand what he meant. He (Mr. Dunlop) was afraid that he could not understand that noble Lord's words, except upon this principle, that he had made up his mind that as little reform should be granted as possible, and that even not until the most distant period. (Loud and general cries of Hear, hear.) They were assembled that day to express their gratitude to the noble Earl (Durham) for his eminent services in the cause of the people. (Cheers). They were more especially met together to convey the testimony of their approbation to him for the great principle that he had publicly declared, at the dinner at Edinburgh, that not a single hour passes over his head without regret, that prolongs the existence of recognised and unreformed abuses. (Cheers). They were assembled there that day, to thank the noble Earl for the assertion of that principle. It was vain and idle for the Lord Chancellor to pretend that the former sessions of Parliament had done enough. The Government had wasted the time of the House of Commons, without doing that which the wants and necessities of the people required. (Loud cheers). Now the true way to make the Government do its duty, was to repeal the Septennial Act. (Cheers). It was in vain to expect the Government to do its duty, unless it was made dependent upon the representatives of the people; and it was vain to expect that they would do their duty if they did not consult the wishes and interests of their constituents, and the only mode to secure that consisted in having Parliaments holden at short intervals.

The toast was drunk with great applause.

Mr. DOUGLAS (who, owing to the same cause, namely, the distance from which he spoke at the lower end of the room, was also indistinctly heard where

we sat) proposed the next toast, "The Liberty of the Press." In doing so the learned gentleman expatiated at some length, and in very eloquent terms, upon the mighty influence exercised, and the immense good effected by that powerful instrument of human enlightenment and improvement. The liberty of the press, he observed, was the best safeguard for the liberties of the people. In the evil days of boroughmongering domination the Government, in order, if possible, to keep down the just discontents of the people, laid cruel laws upon the press, and the money of the people was squandered in hiring literary prostitutes to revile and defame those men who had the talent and courage to assail the fastnesses of corruption. (Cheers). It was the peculiar province of the press to expose faithless statesmen and unprincipled politicians. The press animated the living to exertion, and did justice to the merits of the dead. In conclusion, he expressed the delight he felt at witnessing such a meeting assembled to do honour to a consistent patriot and honest politician. (Cheers).

(To be continued.)

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

CRONSHEY, S., Putney, grocer.

FIELD, T., Mornington-place, Camberwell New-road, flour-factor.

BANKRUPTS.

BARNES, J., Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwickshire, carpenter.

COLEMAN, B. Y., Liverpool, watch-manufacturer.

DAKIN, H., High-street, Southwark, cheese-monger.

FARMER, G. W., Tavistock-street, Covent-garden, jeweller.

GODFREY, S., Bristol, jeweller.

GROVE, T., Great Surrey-street, tailor.

HOUGHTON, G., Hertford-street, Mayfair, saddler.

KERWOOD, J., Cassington, Oxfordshire, grocer.

MAUDE, T. H., White Birk, near Blackburn, Lancashire, dyer.

SPRING, W., Great Portland-street, Portland-place, plumber.

WADELIN, W. W., Wolverhampton, shoe-manufacturer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

MERCER, W., Edinburgh, insurance-broker.

SMITH, J. T., Edinburgh, bookseller.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 18.

INSOLVENTS.

JONES, T., Little Newport-street, Leicester-square, trimming-seller.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

LINES, A., Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, grocer.

BANKRUPTS.

CLEWS, R. and J., Burslem, Staffordshire, manufacturers of earthenware.

COCK, J., Dartford, miller.

CRIPPS, J., Winston, Gloucestershire, grocer.

DEWHURST, T., Manchester, bookseller.

DUFFELL, J., Bridge, Kent, grocer.

FRANKLAND, F., Oxford-street, carpet-warehouseman.

HATCH, W. H. P., Regent-street, boot-maker.

HALLILY, J., J. Brooke, J. Hallily, and J. Hallily, jun., Dewsbury, Yorkshire, wool-len-manufacturers.

MATHWIN, E., F. F. and T., North Shields, chain-makers.

MICKLE, G., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, merchant.

PARMENTER, J., Melbourn, Cambridgeshire, linen-draper.

PATTISON, G. W., Cross-street, Islington, merchant.

PLUNKET, T., Wolverhampton, Staffordshire, grocer.

PUGH, G., Sheffield, laceman.

ROBERTS, H. J., James-street, Lisson-grove, victualler.

SMITH, W., Birmingham, victualler.

STANLEY, T., Leeds, manufacturer.

THEED, T., West-square, picture-dealer.

VERY, J., Regent-street, hosier.

VOUHOIR, F., Rue de Clery, Paris, merchant.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Nov. 17.—We have had a good supply of Wheat since this day week; fine qualities barely supported last Monday's prices, and all secondary sorts were 1s. per qr. cheaper, and the trade very dull.

Our arrivals of Barley the latter end of last week and this morning were large, and we note this article 1s. per qr. lower than last Monday. Malt heavy sale.

Having a few parcels of grey Peas up this morning, they did not support the extreme prices of last Monday by 1s per quarter. Boiling Peas also rather cheaper, as the duty on foreign is coming down, and we may expect some importations from abroad. Beans full as dear.

We have had but few fresh arrivals of Oats since this day week, in consequence an advance of 6d. per quarter was obtained from necessitous buyers both Friday and to-day over last Monday's prices, but the trade was not brisk this morning. Our buyers are perhaps holding off in hopes of seeing our market better supplied. The course of the Oat trade must materially depend upon the extent of the deliveries of English Oats the end of next month and January.

Oats, Barley, Beans, and Peas under lock, inquired for at our quotations.

Wheat, English, White, new....	42s. to 55s.
Old	48s. to 56s.
Red, new.....	40s. to 45s.
Old	44s. to 46s.
Lincolnshire, red	38s. to 44s.
White	44s. to 46s.
Yorkshire, red	36s. to 42s.
White	42s. to 44s.
Northumberl. & Berwick	40s. to 44s.
Fine white	44s. to 45s.
Dundee & choice Scotch	44s. to 45s.
Irish, red, good	35s. to 37s.
White	38s. to 42s.
Rye, new	30s. to 33s.
Old ..	31s. to 36s.
Barley, English, grinding	28s. to 30s.
Distilling	30s. to 34s.
Malting	34s. to 38s.
Chevalier ...	38s. to 42s.
Malt	44s. to 54s.
Fine new.....	56s. to 65s.
Beans, Tick, new	34s. to 37s.
Old	36s. to 41s.
Harrow, new.....	36s. to 38s.
Old	38s. to 42s.
Peas, White, English	40s. to 42s.
Foreign	36s. to 42s.
Grey or Hog	40s. to 42s.
Maples.....	42s. to 44s.
Oats, Polands	22s. to 26s.
Lincolnshire, short small	22s. to 25s.
Lincolnshire, feed	22s. to 25s.
Yorkshire, feed.....	23s. to 24s.
Black.....	24s. to 26s.
Northumberland and Berwick Potato, new.....	24s. to 27s.
Old.....	27s. to 38s.
Angus, new	25s. to 26s.
Old	26s. to 28s.
Banff and Aberdeen, common new	24s. to 26s.
Old	26s. to 27s.
Potato	26s. to 28s.
Old.....	27s. to 28s.
Irish Potato, new.....	24s. to 26s.
Old.....	23s. to 26s.
Feed, new light	18s. to 20s.
Black, new	18s. to 20s.
Foreign feed.....	24s. to 25s.
Danish & Pomeranian, old	20s. to 22s.
Petersburgh, Riga, &c....	22s. to 24s.
Foreign, in bond, feed....	12s. to 14s.
Brew	16s. to 18s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to 42s. per cwt.
Cambridge	40s. to —s.
York	38s. to —s.
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 62s.
Single ditto....	44s. to 48s.
Cheshire.....	54s. to 74s.
Derby	50s. to 60s.
Hams, Westmoreland..	50s. to 60s.
Cumberland ...	50s. to 60s.

SMITHFIELD, November 17.

This day's supply of beasts, though not quite so numerous as was that of this day se'night, was fully equal to the demand, and, as to quality, for the time of the year, tolerably good: the supply of Sheep, Calves and Porkers, rather limited. Trade was, with each kind of prime meat, somewhat brisk; but with the middling and inferior kinds, dull, at no quotable variation from Friday's prices.

About a fourth of the beasts were Shorthorns; the remainder about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, Scots, Welsh runts, and Irish beasts, with about 50 Town's-end Cows, a few Sussex beasts, Staffords, &c.

About a moiety of the Sheep were new Leicesters, of the Southdown and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about one of the former to three of the latter; about a fourth Southdowns; and the remainder about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, Kentish half-breds, and horned and polled Norfolks, with a few pens of horned Dorsets and Somerset, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

About 2,000 of the beasts, a full moiety of which were Shorthorns, the remainder about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, and Irish beasts, with about 100 Scots, were from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and other of our northern districts; about 300, chiefly Scots, with a few Shorthorns, Devons, and Welsh runts, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 160, chiefly Herefords, Devons, and runts, with a few Scotch and Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 40, in about equal numbers of Sussex beasts, Devons, runts, and Irish beasts; from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the marshes, &c. near London.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.
Cons. Ann.	91½	91½	91½	91½	91½	91½